

ple of California, and what may be right for the people of Georgia may not be right for the people of Hawaii.

The Senate of the United States is the last bastion within our Federal system wherein the rights of the States and the rights of the minorities are protected. Without freedom of debate in the Senate, the United States eventually will go the way of the unlimited democracies; we will reach the stage where a misguided majority can destroy the liberties and rights of individual citizens in the name of some currently popular cause.

It should not be forgotten by those who would suppress and gag freedom of debate, that popular opinion can be a fickle instrument. Causes that may be popular today may very quickly sink into a sea of unpopularity, as the noble experiment of prohibition demonstrated. Those who find themselves on the majority side of an issue today may find themselves cast in the minority position tomorrow.

It is surely conceivable, and perhaps probable, that the day will come when, through some fluke of public emotion, the Senate is in the hands of the zealots of the left or the right. Those who shout for giving "the majority its way at once" should ponder the consequences of this if the Senate should come under the control of political extremists of whatever brand.

I cannot, therefore, escape the conclusion that those who advocate restricting the rights of the minority by curtailing freedom of speech in the Senate may be sowing the seeds of their own downfall on some future question of burning national interest.

An untrammelled Senate exercising free and full debate has served this Nation well for 175 years. I do not know of a single piece of legislation vital to the welfare of the country that has been killed by a filibuster. But many bad and vicious bills have been delayed, modified, and sometimes defeated because a Senator or group of Senators possessed the courage and the conviction to talk and talk until they were able to expose the harmful and injurious provisions—even if it meant flying in the teeth of an impatient and wrathful majority.

I would be the last to deny that there have been abuses of freedom of debate in the Senate. There also have been abuses of freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and all other constitutional guarantees. It is an abuse when the press, radio, and television raise the cry of "filibuster" rather than report to the country the valid arguments and position of the minority.

Though few fairminded persons would deny that there have been abuses in the constitutional freedoms enjoyed by all Americans, none would advocate striking these basic guarantees from the Constitution. By the same token, freedom of debate in the Senate should not be destroyed on the pretext that it is sometimes abused.

The present rules of the Senate are wholly adequate to prevent unjustified obstruction of the work of the Senate and the passage of vital legislation. Cloture can be invoked to stop debate on any matter before the Senate by a vote of two-thirds of the Members present and voting.

In recent years, a determined campaign has been waged to discredit the right of full debate in the Senate—and thereby to discredit the Senate as an institution of Government—through the specious charge that the Senate is the "graveyard" for civil rights legislation. This charge is utterly absurd and without foundation on its face. Both the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960—which have been hailed endlessly by their proponents as the only legislation of this type to pass Congress since Reconstruction—were approved by the Senate after prolonged debate and discussion. Opponents of the legislation were criticized in both years for filibustering.

In 1957 and 1960, the opponents directed their speeches specifically to the issues and questions raised by the legislation. They spoke at length, it is true, but their speeches contained facts and arguments as to why the minority thought the legislation to be in conflict with the best interests of the country and with the Constitution.

It should be recalled that fewer than 20 Senators voted against final passage of both these bills—a number woefully inadequate to have prevented closure had two-thirds of the Senate desired to close debate.

The plain fact is that a majority of the Senate was not thwarted on these occasions because of determined opposition by a minority of Senators. In 1960, there were almost 30 rollcall votes on various phases of the bill—including final passage—which were decided one way or another by a majority. These votes included an attempt to invoke cloture which failed by a vote of 42 yeas to 53 nays—well below even a majority.

It is true, of course, that the action of a majority with respect to the civil rights bills may not have satisfied either the dedicated advocates or opponents of this type of legislation. But the point is that a majority of the Senate was able to work its will and was able to pass the legislation within the existing rules of debate.

Indeed, these rules have enabled the Senate to function as a legislative body without serious detriment to the welfare of the United States throughout our history. They have enabled the Senate to discourage and prevent excesses by the temporary majority of the moment that may seek drastic change for selfish or partisan gain.

Freedom of debate in the Senate, so long as it is preserved, serves as a protection of the fundamental rights and liberties for which men for thousands of years have fought, sacrificed, and died.

THE OHIO RIVER FLOOD—PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S SUPERB RESPONSE

Mr. PROXMIER. Mr. President, in the last few days the Ohio River has gone on a rampage that has caused millions of dollars of damage, the loss of some lives, and serious hardship for tens of thousands of people.

The President of the United States has acted with remarkable alacrity and efficiency. I am very greatly impressed with the action taken by the President to meet this crisis. The President called together the Governors of the five States most seriously affected—the Governors of Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, West Virginia, and Ohio. He called on the principal Federal officials responsible for providing assistance under these circumstances: Director McDermott of the Office of Emergency Planning; Secretary Freeman of Agriculture; Administrator Foley of Small Business Administration; Administrator Whitton of Roads; General Wilson, Corps of Engineers, and from outside government: General Gruenther, president of the Red Cross.

These—the principal men who could act and bring relief—were flown, together with the President, over the flooded Ohio at low levels. They inspected the damage and every Governor was in a position to determine instantly and in detail just what the Federal Government could and would do to help. And the President was right there to back him up.

Those of us who recall President Johnson's remarkable efficiency as majority

leader of the Senate can appreciate how swiftly and brilliantly he organized the farflung power and influence of the Federal Government in this flood crisis.

When the President, the Governors, and other officials landed in Cincinnati, Governor Kerner of Illinois said that in all his political career he had never seen an example of greater concern or efficiency.

I think this is an outstanding example of the very great asset the American people have in their Chief Executive. In this nuclear and missile age, this time in which we are challenged by militant world communism, it is most reassuring to know that the American people have a President of such great energy and such great organizational ability, concern, and efficiency, and one who is able decisively and swiftly to focus all the power and ability of this Nation to meet a crisis.

What a great relief to Americans to see this demonstration of the decisive, able, firm hand at the helm of our Nation.

THE PRESIDENT MEETS THE PEOPLE

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the President's appearance on national television March 15 reassured and pleased the American people.

He showed himself to be relaxed, confident, and unafraid. What the American people saw was a sound, philosophical statesman, and the kind of President we all hope for—a man who is in tune with the feelings and the aspirations of this total country and who has the courage to make decisions that have to be made.

The New York Times editorially commented on this television presentation which expressed as its theme President Johnson's determination to see that the American people get a "better deal."

I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

AT HOME WITH THE PRESIDENT

Meet Lyndon Johnson. Millions of Americans may well have had the feeling last evening that they were doing so for the first time. President Kennedy showed, when this formula was first used, how successful it could be in humanizing an exalted and awesome position. The Presidency of the United States, as many have said, is a lonely eminence. A friendly conversation with three astute and experienced commentators, coming informally through the television screens into every home in the land, is a splendid way of bringing the White House to the people.

If it was an ordeal, President Johnson surmounted and survived it well. He sounded relaxed, and he was reasonably frank in his answers. The public was let in on some intimate history of the dramatic hours and days that succeeded President Kennedy's assassination. The sense of the need for continuity of the constitutional and democratic process that Mr. Johnson showed in November was a great contribution to American history, and a very successful one.

The President might have been more precise, and less political, in his discussion of

the need to be better prepared than we are now for a succession to the Presidency. But he did make it plain for the first time that he believes a procedure ought to be devised for replacing the Vice President when he moves up. The fact that this is a presidential election year kept intruding, but an expert like Lyndon Johnson is hardly one to make political indiscretions on or off television.

Some may have found in him a bit too much complacency and self-satisfaction, but if political leaders did not have self-assurance they would not be leaders. As Mr. Johnson said: "I am the only President this country has. I am doing the best I can in it and I am enjoying what I am doing."

He would like to be labeled as "a progressive who is prudent." Nobody can go wrong on that formula, or on the desire to be "a people's President." He was right to say that we are not living in a world where "all we need to do is smash a button and determine everybody's foreign policy."

No doubt, the real flash of inspiration in the hour's talk was when President Johnson was asked to put "a handy label" on his administration, along the lines of the New Deal, Fair Deal, or New Frontier.

"I suppose all of us want a better deal," he said.

INTER-AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress was formed last November in São Paulo, Brazil. It is a response to the need to increase the joint action and contribution of the Latin American nations within the Alliance for Progress. It is a forum in which the Latin Americans themselves will analyze and criticize each other's performance. This Committee meets in Washington, today, to inaugurate Carlos Sanz Santamaria, an outstanding former Minister of Finance in Colombia and former distinguished Ambassador to the United States, as Chairman and the seven county representatives. There is every reason to hope that it will strengthen the machinery of the inter-American system.

Experience with the Marshall plan illustrates that self-criticism and joint action within the framework of a group of nations striving to help themselves is a key element in the effectiveness of any general developmental undertaking in which the United States participates. The Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress offers the promise of accelerating the evolution of the Alliance and of making more effective the U.S. contribution to the Alliance.

President Johnson has demonstrated the great importance with which his administration views the creation of the Inter-American Committee by appointing, as the permanent U.S. representative, Ambassador Teodoro Moscoso. By background and experience as well as by the esteem in which he is held in the United States and throughout Latin America, Ambassador Moscoso was an ideal choice. I am confident, Mr. President, that he will continue to serve in this new assignment with the imagination, dedication, and understanding which has characterized his past contributions to the policies of this Nation and to the progress of the hemisphere.

All his energies and abilities, as well as those of his colleagues on the committee will be needed if it is to fulfill its mandate. There is much to be done and vast obstacles to be surmounted. The effect of centuries of economic and social deprivation will not be dispelled in a few short years.

Our support and our understanding, Mr. President, is vital to the Alliance for Progress and it will be a significant factor in the effectiveness of this new Committee as one of its principal instruments. The Committee can be confident of the support of the United States in its efforts to make more effective intensified Latin American efforts for joint action in self-help.

SIX MORE AMERICANS KILLED IN VIETNAM

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, today's paper carries the sad news that six more American fighting men have died in battle in South Vietnam.

Each additional loss of an American life in those far-off jungles poses with increased insistence the question: What are American soldiers doing fighting and dying in South Vietnam? Why are we there? Why have we been there for 10 years?

As I have previously pointed out, President Johnson has inherited the mess in South Vietnam. On the basis of the reports brought back by Secretary of Defense McNamara he is now reassessing our position in Vietnam. As I recommended last week, I hope that as a result of his taking a hard look at the situation which he inherited, he will come to the conclusion that since this in reality is a civil war between the South Vietnamese themselves we should withdraw American fighting men from the front lines. If the South Vietnamese have the will and the spirit to fight the Vietcong we can be as effective by supplying them with the materials with which to fight. But we should not waste or risk the life of a single additional American fighting man there.

This morning's paper also brings word of the turning of Cambodia to Peiping. Despite almost half a billion American dollars in economic and military aid, Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia is veering to Red China. Now South Vietnam has Peiping-oriented neighbors to the north and west. This is an additional reason—if it is needed—for withdrawing our troops from the front.

I ask unanimous consent that news stories from this morning's New York Times dealing with Cambodia and South Vietnam be printed in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

CAMBODIANS GET PEIPING ARMS AID—SIHANOUK TELLS CHINA ENVOY TWO ARMIES "EXTEND HANDS"—DENIES AGGRESSIVE ATMS

PHNOMPENH, CAMBODIA, March 15.—Cambodia received a shipment of Chinese Communist military aid today. Prince Norodom Sihanouk said it arrived "at a crucial moment in our national existence."

Government sources reported Prince Sihanouk's acceptance speech at Pochentong Air-

port, but did not say what the shipment contained.

"Since our liberation from conditional American aid," the Cambodian Chief of State told the Chinese Communist Ambassador, "our two armies have been able fraternally to extend hands."

"This aid is not conceived, as Thailand maintains, to menace the peace and encourage Cambodia to become aggressive," the Prince declared. "Our only worry is to have sufficient military force to dissuade instigators of imperialistic war who menace the Cambodian peace."

He said it was certain that if China, the Soviet Union, France, and Yugoslavia had not helped militarily without conditions after Cambodia renounced U.S. aid, our enemies would already have struck out offensively against Cambodia.

MOST DANGEROUS PERIOD

"We are presently living in the most dangerous period of our contemporary history," the Prince asserted. "Thailand has said cynically that she will never agree to recognize our right to live free, neutrally, and in our territorial integrity."

The Cambodian leader said that Prince Souvanna Phouma, neutralist premier of Laos, "now espouses an aggressive policy in the northern territory."

Prince Sihanouk said a Cambodian delegation would leave soon for Hanoi, capitol of North Vietnam, to negotiate frontier accords and establish fraternal relations with the Pathet Lao, the leftist faction in Laos.

A Cambodian military mission has been in Peking. It received assurances yesterday of full support from Communist China should Cambodia "encounter an armed invasion instigated by the United States and its vassal states," in the words of Gen. Lo Jui-ching, chief of staff of the Chinese Communist army.

Prince Sihanouk has had long-standing border disputes with neighboring Thailand and South Vietnam. His resentment at U.S. support for those two countries culminated late last year when he dropped American aid and ordered his Ambassador home from Washington.

Later the Prince proposed a 14-nation conference to guarantee his country's neutrality. Nothing came of that and he later suggested that the United States, Thailand and South Vietnam meet with Cambodia and sign an agreement guaranteeing her frontier.

The four-nation idea was favorably received by the United States and South Vietnam, but Prince Sihanouk withdrew the proposal later. Then he began talking about military alliances with Communist China and North Vietnam.

EARLIER AID RECALLED

In the past, Cambodia has received some aid—none of it military—from the Soviet Union, Communist China, Japan and Yugoslavia.

They sent gifts or made loans that helped Cambodia buy so-called luxury items. The Chinese Communists sent a mission in January to advise in setting up a state import-export company. France offered military aid last month, including tanks, training planes and trucks.

U.S. economic and military aid to Cambodia came to \$30 million a year for 8 years until last November.

Prince Sihanouk renounced American assistance after he charged that Washington was supporting Cambodian rebel groups. The United States denied the charges. The friction was made worse by Washington's displeasure over what it considered a derogatory reference on the Cambodian radio to the death of President Kennedy. The Phnompenh regime denied any slur.

1964

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

5151

Prince Sihanouk subsequently insisted he wanted Cambodia's neutrality guaranteed. Prince Souvanna Phouma of Laos said that he thought the Cambodian leader was not bluffing, and that he would turn to the Communist bloc if Cambodia's neutrality was not guaranteed. The Laotian leader said, however, that he was convinced Prince Sihanouk did not want to abandon the non-Communist world.

SIX U.S. AIRMEN DIE AS REDS IN VIETNAM DOWN TWO AIRCRAFT

SAIGON, SOUTH VIETNAM, March 15.—Communist ground fire downed a U.S. helicopter and a spotter plane in separate actions in South Vietnam this weekend. Six American airmen were killed.

Elsewhere, South Vietnamese forces, operating near the Cambodian border, captured about 300 suspected Communist Vietcong fighters, 35 of whom immediately asked to join Government forces. In this operation, at Cai Cai, 17 Vietcong were killed and a U.S. Army sergeant was wounded by a land mine. Government losses were put at four wounded.

The prisoners were flown to Tan Hiep, 50 miles west of Saigon, aboard U.S. Air Force transport planes. On arrival they were marched off under guard in column formation, hands on their heads.

U.S. ADVISERS PLEASED

American advisers in the area said the operation was the most satisfactory performance by the South Vietnamese Army in months.

"Speed and mobility of armored personnel carrier troops were excellent," one adviser said. "Rangers who rode with them were aggressive, air strikes and air reconnaissance were well coordinated with ground movements, local strike forces knew their area, the airlift moved without prior notice and we caught the Vietcong by surprise."

Nearly all the suspected guerrillas captured were without weapons, and 50 denied in interrogation at Tan Hiep that they were Communists. Hundreds of women and children came into the region later pleading that all the captured men be released.

Some of these women grabbed the legs of soldiers, and others tried to storm a bridge over a canal leading to the Cai Cai outpost.

A U.S. adviser, who speaks Vietnamese, said that emotional outburst might have been inspired by the Vietcong.

Four of the U.S. airmen who were killed were aboard a helicopter that was hit during a Government operation today in Ba Xuyen Province, 100 miles south of Saigon.

The other two airmen were aboard an L-19 spotter plane that was knocked down by guerrilla fire northeast of Saigon, near the South China Sea coast yesterday.

A U.S. spokesman said three men aboard the helicopter were killed instantly and the fourth died while being flown to Saigon.

Government troops in the two operation areas killed 12 Vietcong guerrillas and had captured 2 by late this afternoon.

GIVE THE NEGRO A CHANCE AND HE WILL CONTRIBUTE GREATLY TO AMERICA

Mr. PROXMIER. Mr. President, one of the far too common and most damaging fallacies in America is that the Negro child has less intelligence and ability than the white child.

Dr. Samuel Shepard, a great man and a great school administrator, has shown the world how very wrong this is.

Six years ago in the Banneker School District—an overwhelmingly Negro school district—the Negro children of

the district scored far below the national average; fewer in the intellectually superior classification, far more in the below average classification.

But in the past 6 years Dr. Shepard has succeeded with great ingenuity in instilling drive and motivation into these children and with what magnificent results. Let me quote just briefly from an article in the March issue of the Reader's Digest about what Dr. Shepard accomplished:

Dr. Shepard invited parents to meetings to talk about their children's schoolwork and future. At first there was only a trickle of interest, but he persevered. Making the rounds of his 23 schools, he spoke night after night. He concentrated on dollars-and-cents figures showing that a high school graduate can expect to earn perhaps \$4,500 a year, a college graduate \$6,300 and up while the unskilled can expect only \$2,000 to \$3,000—if indeed automation doesn't steal his job. As the Shepard gospel spread, the turnout at these meetings jumped to 400 and 500 persons.

"What do you want us to do?" parents asked.

"See that your children have a time and place to do their homework," Shepard said. "Shut off the radio and TV. Look over and sign homework assignment notebooks each week. And get your kids to school every day, on time. People say the Negro is shiftless. If this is true, the place to cure it is at school."

Such counseling, routine for most children, was unprecedented in the Negro slums. It took hold. Parents eagerly signed a pledge of cooperation. School attendance that first year improved, as well as study habits and scholarship.

Shepard also set about motivating his principals and teachers. "Stop teaching by I.Q.," he said. "You know that Mary tested 119, so you urge her on, draw her out, encourage her. But Johnny tested only 74. So, when he doesn't respond, you pat him on the head and say, 'You've been a good boy, and you can clean the blackboard.' I'm asking you to roll up your sleeves and teach as if every kid had an I.Q. of 120."

The result of all this, Mr. President, has been a dramatic reversal in Dr. Shepard's school district. The children are now scoring as well as all American children throughout the country.

When Dr. Shepard started this drive for incentive and ambition among the Negro pupils, the district had 47 percent below average, 46 percent average, and only 7 percent in the top level. Today those figures have been almost reversed. Only 11 percent are in the low division, and 22 percent are superior.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this article from the March Reader's Digest entitled "Is the Negro Equal in Intelligence and Ability?" be printed in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

IS THE NEGRO EQUAL IN INTELLIGENCE AND ABILITY?

(By Paul Friggens)

Mile after mile, the sooty Negro slums, spread out from downtown St. Louis. In the littered yards and dark doorways of rotting, century-old red-brick tenements, idle men sit and talk. In the midst of this blight stands a high-rise housing development, occupied by low-income laborers and domestics and overrun with 7,000 shouting

children. With a young teacher from this school district, I knock on the door of a typical apartment in the already run-down-looking development.

An expectant mother, surrounded by her brood of children, answers. The rooms are barren, and devoid of amenities, but there is one surprise. On the table lies a dictionary. "I makes 'em use it when they studies," the mother says proudly. "I want for my children to get an education and grow up and be something."

Behind the dictionary is the story of Dr. Samuel Shepard, Jr., assistant superintendent of St. Louis's Banneker School District, a 15-square-mile area with 23 elementary schools serving some 16,000 culturally disadvantaged children—almost all Negro—and staffed by 500 Negro teachers. Four years ago, when Dr. Shepard discovered that the St. Louis schools were discarding 6,000 used dictionaries for a new edition, he arranged to have them sold for 25 cents each to the families in his district.

TRAINING AND SELF-RESPECT

That secondhand dictionary—for many the first book they ever owned—is a symbol of Dr. Shepard's accomplishment in the slums. And what an accomplishment it is. In only 6 years, the crusading educator has given the lie to the image of Negro inferiority. In his elementary schools he has raised the general achievement level of his Negro pupils to the national norm for whites. Moreover, in attendance, some Negro schools outrank the white in St. Louis.

Dr. William Kottmeyer, deputy superintendent of St. Louis schools, told me, "Dr. Shepard dares to tell Negro boys and girls, 'Quit crying. Rise above your environment.' He is giving the Negro training and self-respect."

One morning I drove out to Dr. Shepard's office at Banneker Elementary School. At the bell, clean bright-looking youngsters marched down corridors whose walls were dotted with colorful posters: "Reading Is the Key That Opens All Locks" and "There's a Place for You in the Community—If You're Prepared."

"We keep driving that home," Shepard said. "The Negro is low man on the totem pole—the last hired, first fired. He has never prepared himself for a job or had much ambition, because he had little opportunity or place to go. But I tell them that it's a new day; with education and preparation, Negroes can take their places with whites."

Colleagues say that 56-year-old Shepard works 14- and 16-hour days and stays with a problem like a dog with a bone. A trim, athletic-looking and highly disciplined man, he weighs himself every payday, and keeps 15 years of weight records alongside his deposit records. Until he began coaching and teaching in St. Louis, however, he didn't have much need for a bank book. Reared in poverty in Kansas City, Mo., he worked his way through high school and educated two sisters as well. Washing pots and pans, he won his bachelor's and master's degrees at the University of Michigan, and 26 years later earned his doctor's degree there.

Shepard's crusade was sparked 6 years ago when the St. Louis secondary schools changed over to the track system of academic rating: Track 1, superior; track 2, average; track 3, below average. When the children of St. Louis were given the Iowa basic skill tests, the results showed that the majority of Negro children ranked low. Only 7 percent of Banneker district schoolchildren were certified to track 1; only 10.6 percent of 6,000 youngsters in the primary grades were reading at textbook level. This simply confirmed what studies elsewhere in the United States had revealed: Negro children score, on the average, 6 months to 4 years behind white children of the same age and grade.

Shepard refused to accept this rating as permanent. "We know there is nothing inherent in the Negro to explain this showing," he told a meeting of school principals. "Given the same opportunities and motivation, our pupils can measure up to the whites. But first we must convince their families that an education is important."

"An impossible task," he was warned. "You can't reach these unschooled parents."

"I don't think we have hard-to-reach parents," Shepard replied. "We have parents nobody ever tried to reach before."

The educator told me about his district. "Thousands of the families are without a strong father image. Negro men can't get jobs as easily as Negro women, and so they become mere drones in the family or leave them without a father altogether. The result is that a pall of insecurity hangs over the home."

MOTIVATE THEM

Dr. Shepard invited parents to meetings to talk about their children's schoolwork and future. At first there was only a trickle of interest, but he persevered. Making the rounds of his 23 schools, he spoke night after night. He concentrated on dollars-and-cents figures showing that a high-school graduate can expect to earn perhaps \$4,600 a year, a college graduate \$6,300 and up, while the unskilled can expect only \$2,000 to \$3,000—if indeed automation doesn't steal his job. As the Shepard gospel spread, the turnout at these meetings jumped to 400 and 500 persons.

"What do you want us to do?" parents asked.

"See that your children have a time and place to do their homework," Shepard said. "Shut off the radio and TV. Look over and sign homework assignment notebooks each week. And get your kids to school every day, on time. People say the Negro is shiftless. If this is true, the place to cure it is at school."

Such counseling, routine for most children, was unprecedented in the Negro slums. It took hold. Parents eagerly signed a pledge of cooperation. School attendance that first year improved, as well as study habits and scholarship.

Shepard also set about motivating his principals and teachers. "Stop teaching by I.Q.," he said. "You know that Mary tested 119, so you urge her on, draw her out, encourage her. But Johnny tested only 74. So, when he doesn't respond, you pat him on the head and say, 'You've been a good boy, and you can clean the blackboard.' I'm asking you to roll up sleeves and teach as if every kid had an I.Q. of 120."

Teachers were also asked to abandon their condescending attitude. "You've earned a degree or two," he said, "and you live in a better part of town. But don't teach as if you pitied these slum kids. They're not stupid."

The assistant superintendent launched his teachers on a program of home visits. Because of the appalling slum conditions, this was not popular at first. But today it is paying great rewards, in insight and sympathetic understanding. At the schools I visited, I sensed a heartwarming rapport between teachers and pupils.

To interest and inspire the children, Shepard inaugurated field trips to radio and television studios, the St. Louis planetarium, the zoo, museums, parks, and city markets. "You wouldn't believe it," a principal explained to me, "but many of these children have never before seen common vegetables—a carrot, for example. They're used to hominy grits and sowbelly. And, except for these school trips, they've never been out of their own neighborhood."

One problem youngster from a broken home—with four different last names in the

family—reported on such a trip for the school paper. "We've never had trouble with him since," his principal told me. "He became a reporter for his room, and for the first time in his life he was somebody."

EARLY AND LATE

The schools inaugurated "Reading Is Fun" programs for advanced students, and encouraged the gifted in mathematics, science, music, and art. One group of excited eighth graders turned up half an hour early each day for reading class. Every child had a library card, and school libraries stayed open some nights to accommodate avid readers.

Meanwhile, Shepard continued to push his program—Operation Motivation—to convince parents and students that the result of all this study would be a decent job with good pay. He organized teams of successful St. Louis Negroes to make the rounds of the Banneker schools, telling their stories. "Here is evidence of dreams come true," Shepard says in introducing them.

Among these men are Chester Stovall, director of welfare in St. Louis and first Negro in the mayor's cabinet; and Charles A. Brown, design engineer for the Gemini project with McDonnell Aircraft, who recalls that he was the only Negro engineer in his college graduating class. Brown testifies, "A Negro can be a success in science if he's qualified. I had four offers of jobs when I graduated from college, all at better-than-average salaries." There are other testimonials: from a floor sweeper who won his degree and is now technician in charge of quality control for a soft-drink company; a leading millinery designer, who proudly proclaims, "Now I use my own name on the labels"; a securities salesman; an aerial-map maker.

THE PROOF

Sam Shepard clinches each session with this telling argument: "You've seen here tonight what a Negro can do. We don't have to live in a jungle and exist on relief."

After 6 years, Shepard's faith in his Negro pupils has been amply rewarded. In 1957-58, when St. Louis began the track system, the 23 Banneker schools had 47 percent below average (track 3); 46 percent average (track 2); and only 7 percent in the top level, or track 1. Today the Banneker schools have reversed these figures. Only 11 percent are in the low division, and 22 percent are superior. School attendance has jumped from the 80's to 91.1 percent, and 1 school had a 96-percent attendance figure last year. Meanwhile, vandalism in the schools has dropped significantly.

Shepard has received many honors for his achievement, including the Page One Award of the St. Louis Newspaper Guild, which saluted him "for service rendered through the public school system to the cause of democracy in the United States." He disclaims any miracles. The St. Louis work, he knows, has just begun, and he still has two big concerns. One is that the youngsters' interest and perseverance be kept up through high school. Pulled down by his slum environment, the Negro youngster frequently becomes an early dropout and, unemployed, may turn to delinquency and crime.

The second major concern is jobs. "There are still barriers of prejudice, and to overcome them we must have superior training," Shepard says.

Shepard's achievement has significance far beyond St. Louis. U.S. cities are gaining rapidly in Negro population, with increasing unemployment, welfare costs, violence, crime. "We are confronted with an inescapable question," says Sam Shepard. "Is the white man going to abandon these cities to culturally deprived Negroes—with resultant

chaos—or is he going to help educate them and save the country from disaster?"

KOSSUTH DAY

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, March 16 has been accepted by loyal Hungarians and their friends everywhere in the world as Kossuth Day, marking a great event in Hungarian history. In 1848 and 1849 Louis Kossuth led the Hungarian people in a long, and impossible battle against the misery and suppression of centuries. In the magnificent style of Rakoczi before him and Imre Nagy after him, Kossuth gave voice to the pent-up protests of the Hungarian people against foreign imperialism. For the first time in 150 years, the Hungarian love of freedom burst into flame. The fact that that flame was smothered by forces of reaction in Europe, as were so many other freedom movements in those heroic days of 1848, only proved that Louis Kossuth and his followers were far ahead of their time, not that they were wrong.

Throughout 1849 Kossuth at the head of the national government, and his generals fought against Austrian invasions. One hundred and fifty thousand Hungarians honved fought against twice that many better-armed imperial soldiers. But the Austrians were defeated and driven out of Hungary. Emperor Franz Josef, of Austria, had to go to Russia to ask assistance. Finally Russia and Austria together were able to crush the freedom movement. In 1849, just as in 1956, Russia was the oppressor of Hungary, the supporter of an authoritarian order, rejected by the people. Louis Kossuth was one of the original freedom fighters of Hungary. When his compatriots battled Soviet tanks in the streets of Budapest more than a century after his revolution, his spirit must have ridden at their shoulders, hoping still for freedom and happiness for his people.

We Americans must take special note of March 16, Louis Kossuth Day. It marks the best in hopefulness among our fellow Americans of Hungarian origin, and among all Hungarians. If the Communists use the name of Louis Kossuth it will turn to dust in their mouths. For Kossuth Day and all it symbolizes are the very antithesis of Communist dictatorship. On March 16, 1964, we see Hungary still not free, still poor, and suffering under Russian domination. But hope is still alive. As long as Hungarians remember Louis Kossuth and the ideals for which he fought, Hungarian independence is not dead. We join Hungarians in paying tribute to Louis Kossuth's ideals. May they yet triumph.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is closed.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business.